described is performed at certain stones called *nerrukkidawr*. At Mōdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *paiol* takes a *nērukkidrīl*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *ner*, as when rubbed on the *kulmudā*). The two *paiol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kulmudā* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kulmudā*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *nerrarpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *nerrukkidawr*.

The ceremony with the *kulmudā* which follows the migration to the dairies of *Antō* and *Odrthō* is one of the most extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kulmudā*, followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kulmudā* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of *Antō* and *Odrthō*. The *kulmudā* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kulmudā* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kulmudā* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kulmudā* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mand* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself below it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred dairies of Arto and Ödrthe the ceremony is still carried out in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the anointing of the *nevvirkhevv*, which take the place of the head of the *kolmokh*.

When the *kolmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kolmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

At some time during the day following the arrival at the *new ti mund*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung. Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *pwaq* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nödrs *ti* stays at Arto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Arto he stays *evdpwars*—*i.e.*, "two *pwars*." One *pwars* is a day and its next day, so that *evdpwars* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

1: Rivers K-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds further; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

*Pithiriss the elder, Pithiriss Pirshirin eldik; thou art not withheld; thou gods power if there be;*

*as calves perish withheld; as they weep him not; as he dead pass away; his buffaloes wings grow not; as birds fly away; he I water drink as he also water drink may; I thirsty am as thirst withheld not; as also pus thirst drink not; as sudden he also thirsty be may; I hungry as he also hunger may; my children hunger pus as sudden die not; as miserable bitter pus pus as my as his children cry may; my wife ragged cloth wear as his miserable bitter pus die not wife ragged cloth wear may.*

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnir as follows: For the sake of Pithiriss, Ön, Teiheri, and Tirshi; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears
789 only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged
539 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[792] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nadrsol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nadrsol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

*[illegible]*
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

*[illegible]*
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

*[illegible]*
cleansed from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By these gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the [illegible].

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

*Pïlïkatu Ön idïth, Teïkirsïn Tirshtïn idïth; a tes sati uditudïr, an nïdr*
*uditudïr; ank pudru pïrk pat mâ; ank ud ulïdkhâth*
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable
*pus pâ mâ; an kal muri umâ; an kai mâri ûmâ;*
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;
*an kas pudri ûmâ; an ârz ukrïk an kûdâpal dvòdinâ*
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all
*uditum pâ mâ; dïth ank sukïtam karvai agi ankn*
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also
*sukïtam ï mâ; an nïdr udï ed ariken â*
trouble occur may; his country there is that we shall know those
*kas udï ed kanken; i elv melt alain*
gods there is that we shall see; this house into the ground what happens,
*ed kïkus ald mâ.*
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *ariken*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *irsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

*tan udāmūdr, an nādr udāmūdr; tanal pen mā; tarm ai pen mā*[1]; *mol̤k*
*mādrik an kūdipel elmk; in mel en mans elm tulvolmen*
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt
*in uli agi dmā; nāv pul, vudri pul pen mā.*
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mami kudupol*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *ɨthòrɨw* are consulted, such as:—*elpṭākɨnddr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tokkpkddathvūdɨnddr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnddr*, if anything gets into the eye; *ernṭāthtɨnddr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobernddr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathaunul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *ɨthòrɨw*. The procedure is called *kkdrkatinanddr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *ɨtpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 834 755 789

*Pithòrɨw Ön kkdā, Tkithòrɨw Tirshɨn kkdā; pof pōrɨ kkt tarɨ nil*
big tiger teeth fearsome stand

*nil; kkdā karuppu mukɨ tarɨ nil nuk; pudr kunɨ ammkɨ tarɨ*
stay; black bear face crowd red dog other side

*nil nuk; pud tarɨ tarɨ nil nuk; pof pur tarɨ nil nuk; pof pu*
snake erect head big hill big river

*pū tarɨ nil nuk; pof pkdi mul*[2] *tarɨ nil nuk.*
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

*ath tuddin kuti vaiyond.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren*. The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *tirg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrai and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

362 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



## The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzaw* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per wd*, as in *Mutashkitik per wd*, but in this case only one *kwarzaw* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzaw* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrwrs* (Kuzhu), *Kingwrs* (Keshker), *Kulukars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiödr), *Edsdrs* (Tashtars), *Keiikdrs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhdrwddri* (Isharadr), *Pödskwrs* (Pödzkwar), *Peleiwrs* (Peletkwur), *Tarzkidi*, *Tuli*, *Sing*, *Keitaa*. In the last four cases the *kwarzaw* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzaw* are followed by *ekkrzaw wcidjaw*, *Nötkrzk tr wskt wd*. The place of *karstraw parstraw* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekkrzaw wcidjaw*, the *kwarzaw* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karstraw parstraw*, for it is the *kwarzaw* of their *wödradchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzaw* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzaw*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzaw*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartwokh* says, "*Teikhdrzk tr wskt wd*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nötkrzk tr wskt wd* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nötirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkamptikpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

4: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumpttkpimi* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

### The Teutüthishchi Ceremony

This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the foot of a hill by the *poiol* and *kulwodá*. The name *teutüthishchi* or *teutüthishtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *mudhw* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

## Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the latter part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



771 to its aid. The sorcerer does not endeavour to effect his
789 purpose merely by the belief in the efficiency of like producing like, or other ideas which dominate the lower forms of magic, but has called to his aid the power of the gods and uses a form of words almost identical with that used in the religious ritual. Magic and religion are here closely allied, but it is possible that this alliance is but one of the products of the degeneration to which I believe the Toda religion is subject. It is possible that we have here evidence that during the process of degeneration of religion, religion and magic may approach one another—an approach which recalls their common origin from those low beliefs and ideas of the savage to which the name of neither magic nor religion should perhaps be properly applied.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda



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pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60



887 724 526 [538] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumr*jalf*, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodṛ (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 698 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [589] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacmund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 179 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [242] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [198] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [984] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go 234 inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near